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21 November 1960

TIBET'S 1959 ACHIEVEMENTS AND 1960 PLANS

By Panchen Erdeni Chuji-Geltseng

- COMMUNIST CHINA -

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FOREWORD

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TIBET'S 1959 ACHIEVEMENTS AND 1960 PLANS

-COMMUNIST CHINA-

Following is the translation of a report, entitled "Summary of the 1959 Work of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet and Report on Its 1960 Tasks," delivered on 22 April 1960 to the 4th Plenary Session of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet by Panchen Erdeni Chuji-Geltseeng, Acting Chairman of the Committee, in Hsi-ta'sang Jih-pao (Tibet Daily), Lhasa, 23 April 1960, pp. 3-4.

Members of the Committee, fellow Deputies, Comrades, and friends,

1959 is the year in which a fundamental change took place in the situation of Tibet. It also is the year in which the people of Tibet scored a decisive victory. In March last year dark clouds emerged in the sky over Tibet, but were soon dissipated by the east wind. Since then the warm sun has shone over the great land of Tibet, and the toiling people's smiling face has substituted their glum face of the past.

The former local government and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata in Tibet took the central authorities' high-minded policy and tolerance in the past eight years as a sign of weakness and erroneously believed that they could continuously slave the toiling people of Tibet without running the risk of resistance. At first, they used every possible means to sabotage the seventeen-article agreement. Then they openly tore up the agreement. They secretly organized the armed rebellion which eventually

broke out on 10 March last year on a region-wide scale. In sum, this small group of reactionaries made up their mind to take the path of anti-motherland, anti-people, anti-democratic-reform, and anti-socialism. Under these circumstances, the toiling people of Tibet could no longer put up with the situation, and the patriotic progressive people found themselves unable to restrain the feeling of indignation. Ten days after this small group of reactionaries attacked the people and the People's Liberation Army units in Tibet, the people and the army units were finally forced to fire back. Consequently, the reactionaries were totally defeated. The people and all the progressive forces scored a complete victory. Isn't it a fundamental change of the situation?

The suppression of the rebellion is inseparable to the enforcement of reform. The basic demand of the toiling people is to shake off the yoke of feudal serfdom and to achieve a socialist society with happiness and prosperity through the suppression of the rebellion under the leadership of the Party. For this reason, an upsurge of democratic reform soon emerged, and the system of feudal serfdom was promptly overthrown. The toiling people have now established their mastery. The reactionary rule of the three big lords and the age of exploitation have been transformed into an age in which the people have become their own masters. On 18 March last year the State Council issued an executive order authorizing the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet to exercise the power of the local government of Tibet. This is an important mark which signifies the mastery of the people. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao, and under the direct leadership of the Tibet Operational Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Preparatory Committee has called three plenary sessions. On 8 April last year the first plenary session was convened. It formally announced the exercise of the authority of the local government of Tibet by the Committee, the mobilization of the people to support the suppression of the rebellion, the enforcement of military control over those areas where the rebellion took place, and the establishment of military control commissions in various localities. On 17 July last year the second plenary session was held. It adopted resolutions on the performance of democratic reform. The third session, held on 22 September last year, adopted resolutions on the abolition of the system of feudal land ownership and the enforcement of the system

of peasants' land ownership. Furthermore, it established a land reform committee. Up to the present, the program of land distribution has been completed in most agricultural areas, and for the first time the peasants are tilling their own land. In most pastoral areas, the movement of "three-anti and two-benefit" is successfully moving ahead. The herdsmen are no longer oppressed by the three big lords. Can it be said that it is not a decisive victory of the people?

The great historical change in Tibet during the past year has once more proved that all reactionary cliques and exploiting classes will inevitably go to death, and that the toiling people and all the progressive forces will inevitably score victory. This is the law of the development of social history, which can not be averted by any reactionary elements or any reactionary forces.

Through this great change in the past year and on the basis of the principles and policies issued by the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao, we have not only scored a great victory in the general front line but also made remarkable achievements in various branches of our work. To sum up, the following are the main points which I want to make:

1. In the suppression of the rebellion, we seriously implemented the policy of "suppressing while reforming" and the policy of three combinations, i.e., "combining military attack with political persuasion and mass agitation." To volunteer surrenders, we adopted the policy of "no arrest, no execution, no detention, and no struggle." It has been proved through practice that all these principles and policies issued by the central authorities are in conformity with the practical situation in Tibet and the demands of the Tibetan people. They are entirely correct. Since the People's Liberation Army thoroughly implemented the policy of suppressing while reforming and the policy of three combinations, and in the meantime, assumed the honorable role as a combat force, a productive force, and a working force, it gained the Tibetan people's warm support and love. The vast people of Tibet urgently demanded reform, firmly opposed the rebellion, enthusiastically supported the order of the State Council, actively assisted the People's Liberation Army, fought shoulder to shoulder with the suppressing force, actively repaired roads, and provided the People's Liberation Army with information and logistic service. The patriotic progressive people stood

together with the masses in their common effort to oppose the rebellion. Thus, the rebels were totally isolated. Under the correct leadership of the Party and with the active support of the governments at various levels and the broad masses of the people, the brave People's Liberation Army quickly put down the rebellion. We wish to express our heartfelt gratitude to the People's Liberation Army. On behalf of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet and the Tibetan people, I extend my best regards and salute to all the commanding officers of the People's Liberation Army units in Tibet. In the meantime, I wish to express my deepest condolence to the martyrs who contributed their valuable lives to the cause of the suppression and sacrificed themselves in the front line of construction. All their dependents have my sincere sympathy.

2. In the movement of democratic reform, we thoroughly implemented the Party's two-step policy. The first step was designed to carry out the policy of "three-anti- and double-reduction" (anti-rebellion, anti-Wu-la-ch'ai-i-chih-tu / the system of involuntary servitude, anti-slavery, reducing rent, and reducing the rate of interest). The second step was the re-distribution of land. According to the policy laid down by the central authorities, we fully organized the masses and united all the forces that could be united. In the democratic reform, we made distinctions in dealing with those elements of the upper social strata who had taken no part in the rebellion and those elements of the upper social strata who had taken part in the rebellion. To those serf owners and their agents who had not participated in the rebellion, we allowed them to buy back their means of production. To those patriotic progressive people, we adopted the policy of "protecting them to go through the barrier," arranged their job and guaranteed their living. Following the victory of the suppression, a tide of large mass movements centering on the democratic reform surged up and has rapidly moved ahead with great success. Up to the end of February 1960, the movement of democratic reform entered into full swing in 63 Hsien and 6 districts controlled by cities with a total population of about 890,000. Among these Hsien and districts, an agricultural area consisting of 49 Hsien with a population of about 690,000 completed the movement of "three-anti and double-reduction." Of these 49 Hsien, 47 Hsien with a population of 610,000 accomplished the distribution of land. In pastoral areas,

12 Hsien with a population of 75,000 developed the movement of "three-anti and two-benefits." Among these Hsien, an area with a population of 30,000 accomplished the movement of "three-anti and two-benefit." In the movement of democratic reform, the toiling people of Tibet achieved rich results out of their struggle. The vast serfs and slaves were emancipated and distributed with land and means of production. In those areas where the program of land reform had been completed, 29,948 Lang-sheng [a kind of person] were emancipated. By enforcing the policy of crops to the planter, and as a result of the abolition of debts and the reduction of rent and interest, the economic benefits received by the toiling people amounted to 100 million chin of food grains. On the average, each person received 1,500 chin. The land distributed to the people amounted to 2,100,000 k'c. On the average, each person received 3½ k'c. In those areas where the democratic reform had been accomplished, the toiling people established their mastery, and the system of feudal serfdom which had served as the cornerstone of the Tibetan society was broken down.

3. On the part of agricultural and pastoral production, the productive force of the toiling people of Tibet was emancipated, subsequent to the change of their social status. They demanded the increase of production in order to change their extremely poor living conditions. After the Party and the government issued the policy of "crops to the planter" and made the call for the simultaneous development of reform and production, the broad toiling people immediately took action. They organized a movement for the accumulation of fertilizers, undertook the construction of water conservation, used those new farm tools given by the government to till their land, changed their old field management, and brought up many new persons and new events. In the old society women were prohibited from tilling. Now they are allowed to do it. Mules and buffaloes were used to pull vehicles. Thus, low-yield field has become high-yield field. The potentiality of land has been brought into full use. On the production front, the army was also a powerful force. When they found time they helped the masses reap crops, repair water pools, dig wells, collect soil, repair houses, and so on. In this way, they also made great achievements on the production front. In the meantime, office cadres, while busy in their own work, could basically supply themselves with vegetables. Some office cadres raised many domestic

animals, such as pigs, cows, sheep, chickens, ducks, rabbits, and so forth. Thus they partially solved the problem of meat supply. All these works mentioned above not only resulted in great economic benefits but exerted favorable influence over politics. They made a beginning in the production movement which is backed up by the alliance of military personnel with the civilian people. In order to help mass production, over 6,000,000 chin of agricultural seeds and 260,000 items of farm tools were released to the peasants on loan basis. After the first fine crop the peasants enthusiastically handed in their food grains for the cause of the country. In order to direct the peasants' production and to raise output, all the people's governments at the Hsien level have planned to establish medium- and small-sized farms, and the Preparatory Committee and the Tibet Military Area Command to establish and expand the large-sized farms in Chi'u-shui, Ts'e-tzu, Lin-chih, and Lhasa. All these farms adopted the policy of combining indigenous methods with foreign practice while taking indigenous methods as the primary means. They were requested to present themselves as the models for other areas. In addition, all these farms are the kind of synthetic farms which combine agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations, and fishery. Some of them are attached with ranches of various kinds. All this facilitates the development of agricultural production. To prevent animal diseases, we established eight quarantine stations and similar organizations in some Hsien. Thus, we prevented and cured many regional animal diseases--90% of the diseases were cured. Many quarantine stations used Chinese medicine and indigenous methods to cure sick animals, and the result was also great.

4. In the field of construction, I should like to put emphasis on the construction of democratic government, communications, trade, culture, education, and public health. In the construction of democratic government, special administrations (in cities) and Hsien people's governments were established in all areas. Following the successful development of the democratic reform, district and Hsien governments were set up in most areas. In those areas where the democratic reform had been carried out, remarkable achievements were made in the defense of people's interests, in the battle against the enemy's sabotage, and in the development of mass production under the leadership of the Tibet Operational Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Preparatory Committee

for the Autonomous Region of Tibet. Remarkable achievements were also made in the field of economic and cultural construction.

In the construction of communications, we actively executed the policy of "Ti (land or local), P'u (common or popular) and Ch'un (mass)" and fully utilized the method which combined the military force with the civilian people. We greatly displayed the potentiality of civil transport. In a short period of time, 24 highways were newly constructed, which accounted for 2,270 kilometers. Reconstructed highways accounted for 580 kilometers, and 1,147 kilometers of highway restored traffic. Thus we improved the underdeveloped communications in Tibet. The highways between special districts and the traffic between special Hsien were also greatly improved. All this provided favorable conditions for the continual advancement of the movement of democratic reform and the development of the production of agriculture, industry, and animal husbandry.

On the side of trade, we implemented the policy of serving politics, serving the masses, and serving production. We adopted the policy of walking on two legs. According to this policy, we purchased goods partially from the hinterland and partially from the local market. Thus the supply of commodities was also improved. After the suppression of the rebellion, we increased 232 trading spots, and thus preliminarily improved the trading relationship between urban and rural areas as well as the exchange of agricultural and pastoral products between peasants and herdsmen. The price of 218 items of commodities, including food grains, tea, tobacco, cotton cloth, soap, and shoes, reduced by 3.59%. In January 1960 we also reduced the price of 2,995 commodities by 12.41%. Thus, the toiling people had a preliminary improvement in their livelihood.

In the fields of culture and education, we thoroughly implemented the policy of using education to serve the politics of the working class and the policy of integrating education with production and labor. With regard to school administration, we carried out the policy of run by the people. In many areas, a tide has been surged up in which the masses start to run schools. Primary schools and evening schools sprung up like mushrooms. Totally, we increased 10 public primary schools, 456 private

primary schools, 128 evening schools, and a teachers' training class. The enrollment is 25,423 students with 594 teachers. Cultural and art works were closely tied in with our central tasks and have made corresponding development. Throughout this period, we have developed spare-time plays organized by offices, army units, mass groups, and street residents. It reflects that under the leadership of the Party, the toiling people of Tibet have thoroughly achieved a political emancipation, and that the masses of the people have made great change in their ideology, sentiments, and spirit. Motion pictures were sent deep into agricultural and pastoral areas. Projection units increased from 23 to 72. In the entire year, a number of motion pictures was circulated by 3,832 times and showed by 11,712 times with a record of 3,312,291 admissions.

In public health work, we closely coordinated with the tasks of reform and production, and served production and construction. In all clinics we developed technical innovations and raised working efficiency. In 1959 there were 357,530 registrations at the clinics and hospitals in the entire region (including 101,463 registrations made by the Tibetan masses at army hospitals). Of these, over 80% were Tibetan patients. Admission to stay in hospitals accounted for 4,903 (including 1,089 admissions to army hospitals). Compared to the same period in 1958, registrations increased by 74%, admissions by 183%. Meanwhile, we organized roving medical teams that went deep into agricultural and pastoral areas.

5. In the cultivation of cadres, we seriously implemented the policy of cultivating communist cadres among minority groups. We trained cadres according to the policy of combining practical struggle with school education. At present, over 4,000 Tibetan cadres are working in different organizations, and over 2,700 are studying in schools. According to the statistics of Lhasa, Shannan, and Na-ch'u special districts, through the movement of democratic reform, more than 46,800 positivists [or activists] who were toiling people in origin emerged. Most of them have become the main force to execute Party and government policies in rural areas. They are the Party's and the people's valuable assets. We must carefully strengthen their training and raise the level of their awareness.

6. Through the great historical change in the past

year, we deeply feel that:

(1) We have successfully put down the rebellion, further consolidated the unification of the motherland, and further strengthened the solidarity of all nationalities in the country. A small group of the reactionaries of the upper social strata launched the armed rebellion in an attempt to split the unification of the motherland, to sabotage the unity of all nationalities, and to oppose all progressive undertakings as well as the cause of the toiling people. This is a betrayal of the motherland, the people, and a violation of the law of the development of history. Therefore, they were isolated. The frenzied scream of the imperialists and the condemnation of the reactionaries both at home and abroad could not save their fatal destiny. Their rebellion was quickly defeated by the iron fists of the people. In fact, the reactionaries' rebellion sped up their annihilation, advanced the new life of the toiling people, further consolidated the unification of the motherland, strengthened the unity of all nationalities, and removed barriers for our progress. However, we can not relax. The history of mankind has repeatedly shown that the reactionary ruling class will never automatically retreat from the stage of history. The remained counter-revolutionaries are still struggling for their survival under the imperialists' support. They hate to see the toiling people's victory and antagonize the people's liberating tasks. They will definitely use every possible means to sabotage our democratic reform, production, construction, and so on. Therefore, we must be sober-minded and be continuously on the alert. We must fight and put down all subversive activities.

(2) We must thoroughly destroy the system of feudal serfdom, implement the democratic reform, and take the path of socialism. This is a bright and correct path. Only by so doing can we change the poverty and backwardness of the Tibetan society, can we thoroughly emancipate the toiling people of Tibet. We firmly support all Party policies, fully organize the masses, and unite all the forces that can be united, in order to complete the revolution of democratic reform. To pave the way for the construction of a new democratic, socialist Tibet, we must thoroughly destroy all the systems that form the foundation of the feudal serfdom society, completely achieve the tasks of democratic reform, and establish a national

autonomous region led by the working class and participated by the patriotic progressive people with the toiling people as its main body. Then, we can gradually walk toward a socialist, communist society. We must carry out the program of democratic reform to the end, and on this basis, transform ourselves into a socialist society. We must use the theories of permanent revolution and the development of revolutionary stages to arm our ideology, in order to lead our revolution from one victory to another.

(3) We must boldly organize the masses. This is the key to the success of all our revolutions. In the movement of suppression and democratic reform, the intensity of mass organizational work determines the success of mass movements. On the contrary, the movement will cool off, and it will be impossible to establish the mastery of the masses. Consequently, there will be more problems. In those large mass movements, the vast patriotic progressive people have taken an active part. This is one side of the coin. On the other side, however, a very small group of people have shown negative attitude, and some people are even afraid of mass movements. This is wrong. A large mass movement like this which has turned the society upside down inevitably has small deviations. Some individuals deliberately exaggerated those inevitable defects. They did not see the main stream of the movement and its great achievements. That is deadly wrong. Obviously, it is a manifestation of the standpoint of the feudal serf owners. They have not changed their viewpoints, and we must oppose them. All revolutionary cadre should sympathetically and actively support the movement which emancipates the masses and changes their social status. They should positively plunge themselves into the hectic movement, firmly rely on the masses, and reform themselves through the mass movement. They should eat, live, and work together with the masses, in order that they truly become ingredients of the masses.

(4) While fully organizing the masses, we must achieve our united front operation in the upper social strata. This is the policy which has long been laid down by the Party and Chairman Mao. In practical work, we must seriously and thoroughly implement this policy, so that we can unite all the forces that can be united, and mobilize all positive elements for the realization of the democratic reform and the building of socialism. Furthermore, we can recruit more and more people into our revolution and isolate the enemy to the maximum degree. It is precisely for this

reason that in our democratic reform movement we made distinctions in dealing with the people of the upper social strata. To those serf owners and their agents who had taken no part in the rebellion, we allowed them to buy back their land, marginal houses, cattle, farm tools, and so forth. In mass struggles, we protected those serf owners and their agents who were anti-imperialist, patriotic and willing to accept democratic reform "to go through the barriers." In the meantime, on the basis of their personal situation and ability, we arranged jobs for them in the government, the Political Consultative Conference, the Buddhist Association, and the Preparatory Committee for the Joint Chamber of Industry and Commerce. In addition, we properly took care of their livelihood. As for the lamas, we continued to carry out the policy of religious freedom. On the basis of our achievements in the "three-anti and three-purge" movement we practised democratic administration in the lamaseries. Through the poor lamas' democratic election, they are now governing themselves. All these measures are in conformity with the long-range interest of the toiling people of Tibet. Therefore, we must firmly support the Party's policy of united front, continue to develop these measures, persuade, unite, educate, and reform the people of the upper social strata who originated from the exploiting class, and help them to promote and reform themselves so that they become the kind of people who will live on their own labour. As regards those words, deeds, and ideologies which are unfavorable to the unification of the motherland, national unity, democratic reform, and socialism, we must criticize and conduct ideological struggle. Criticism and struggle are designed to achieve a better unity on the new basis.

(5) Of all principles the leadership of the Party is our first principle. The direction pointed out by the Party is ever-victorious. Chairman Mao's thought is an ever-victorious banner. We will go any place under the direction of the Party and Chairman Mao. This is the basic guarantee to the success of our revolutionary work. In the movement of democratic reform, the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao issued a series of policies and programs for our operation in Tibet, such as the policy of "suppressing while reforming," the policy of "combining military attack with political persuasion and mass agitation," the two-step policy in democratic reform, the policy of united front from below and from above, the policy of agitating the masses to implement the class

line, the policy of combining class agitation with political and economic agitations with political and class agitations as its core, the policy of making class distinctions, the policy of permitting the serf owners to buy back their properties, the policy of making distinctions in dealing with the people of the upper social strata who had or had not taken part in the rebellion, the policy of three-anti and two benefits and of protecting animals in pastoral areas, the policy of "three-anti and three-purge" and religious freedom in the lamaseries, etc. Facts have proved that all the above mentioned policies are entirely correct and in conformity with the concrete situation in Tibet. As a result of our fine implementation of this series of policies and programs, we have not only fully organized the masses but mobilized all the positive elements that could be mobilized, not only isolated the enemy to the maximum degree but persuaded and united all the people that could be united, not only expanded anti-imperialist and patriotic powers and greatly elevated the toiling people's class consciousness but raised the level of the leading cadres' and agents' political ideology, not only trained and organized a revolutionary mass team but cultivated a great number of nationalities cadres, not only scored a great victory in the movement of democratic reform but created favorable conditions for the enforcement of socialist reform in the region of Tibet. All this is to say that the series of policies and programs mentioned above have led the revolutionary task of Tibet to the path of victory. Our work is based on the principle of putting politics in command. The Party is the supreme commander in the Chinese people's revolution and construction. Basically, by putting politics in command, it means to put the Party in command, to put Marxism-Leninism in command, to put Mao Tse-tung's thought in command. Therefore, under the absolute leadership of the Party, and with the concrete instruction of the Tibet Operational Committee of the Party, we must firmly carry out our government work, fully display the role of the people's regime, serve the broad toiling people of Tibet on the basis of the lines, policies and programs laid down by the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao and the will of the broad toiling people of Tibet.

All that mentioned above is a summary of Tibet's work in the past year. It is a new page in the history of Tibet which illustrates the basic conditions in this region. It is also a new page which writes off the system of feudal serfdom and presents the power of millions

of serfs. We are excited with joy at this new page of our history, and we want to give a cheer to the victory of the people.

According to the foregoing statement, the central tasks of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet are that on the basis of the further consolidation of the unification of the motherland and the further strengthening of the unity of all nationalities, we shall continue to organize the masses for the implementation of the democratic reform, the development of agricultural and pastoral production, the consolidation of the dictatorship of people's democracy, and the establishment of a democratic administration. In the meantime, we shall undertake the construction of the economy, culture, education, public health, and the cultivation of cadres. Our major tasks are arranged as follows:

1. The Implementation of the Democratic Reform-- Under the unified leadership of Party committees, we shall thoroughly execute our class line, continue to organize the masses, and unite all the forces that can be united so that we can complete the program of land distribution in agricultural and semi-agricultural areas before the end of 1960. In those areas where the distribution of land has been completed, we shall develop an overall movement to re-investigate the performance of the democratic reform with production as its core, after the spring tilling. This movement will include seven items of investigation: (1) to investigate whether or not the distribution of land is rational; (2) to investigate whether or not the mastery of the masses has been completely established; (3) to investigate whether or not the foundation of the system of feudal serfdom has been completely destroyed; (4) to investigate whether or not the development of production and the mutual assistance in labor are normal; (5) to investigate whether or not some cadres' stand and attitude are firm and healthy; (6) to investigate whether or not the movement of three-anti and three-purge in the masses is thorough and complete, and whether or not they have established democratic administration; (7) to investigate the implementation of the policy of allowing serf owners to buy back their properties. The principle of these investigations is investigating while reforming and constructing. The purpose of these investigations is to further organize the masses for the solution of the remained problems in the reform, to further raise the masses' class

consciousness and the level of cadres' political ideology, and to consolidate the achievements of the democratic reform so that we can create more favorable conditions for the development of production, socialist reform, and socialist construction. In those areas where the reform is still under way, we should firmly and thoroughly strike the enemy, solidly establish the mastery of the toiling people, unite all the forces that can be united, correctly distinguish class composition, and complete the policy of allowing serf owners to buy back their properties as well as the policies of confiscating and distributing. In those areas where the reform will soon be effected, we should prepare conditions for the reform and complete the distribution of land within this year. All in all, we must firmly complete the movement of democratic reform and resolutely carry out the revolutionary struggle of democratic reform to the end. We must strictly prevent and manage to overcome simplicity and perfunctory performance. In the meantime, we must achieve the simultaneous development of reform and production.

In pastoral areas, we should thoroughly execute the Party's policy of "three-anti and two-benefit" in order to abolish the feudal privileges in pastoral areas, protect and develop animal husbandry. In those areas where the movement of "three-anti and two-benefit" has been completed, we should further organize the masses for the solution of the remained problems in the movement. In those areas where the movement is being under way, we should thoroughly accomplish this movement and strengthen the people's democratic regime. In those areas where the movement is about to come, we should extensively and intensively propagate the Party's policy toward pastoral areas, start to develop the movement, establish democratic administration, and protect and develop animal husbandry.

2. The Development of Production. --Under the leadership of the Party and by putting politics in command, we should develop a large scale mass movement with production as its key lever and agriculture as its core. We should achieve a bumper crop in agricultural production, increase the breeding of animals and their products, raise the income of peasants and herdsmen, and improve their livelihood. In those areas where the reform has been or will soon be completed, an upsurge in production has been formed. The toiling people's production spirit is very high, and their working energy very great. For this reason, it is possible

to increase the production of food grains by 10% or 15% through a large production movement. Hence, we must thoroughly implement the eight letter charter: irrigation, soil conservation, various fertilizers, field management, dense planting, deep plowing, seed selection, tool improvement, and cultivation system. To view this charter as a whole, soil, fertilizer, water, and seed are essential to the growth of all agricultural crops. During the time of spring tilling, emphasis should be placed upon the measures dealing with soil, fertilizer, irrigation, seed selection, and farm tools. Next, we should conduct agricultural technical transformation. At present, we should actively improve our farm tools and to produce the new farm tools which are appropriate to the Tibetan region. In the meantime, we should summarize and improve our original experience in agricultural production. Then we should organize agricultural producers' mutual-aid teams. In those areas where the democratic reform has been completed, the organization of such mutual-aid teams has developed rapidly. This is so because of the following four reasons:

(1) After the democratic reform the productive force has been emancipated. The peasants' production spirit is very high. Over 80% of the toiling people have positively demanded that they follow the path of mutual co-operation.

(2) There are more land and less labor-force.

(3) The original means of production and mode of production are extraordinarily backward.

(4) The toiling peasants by nature have the habit of working together through mutual aid. The mutual-aid team is the prelude to socialism. It can solve the peasants' difficult problems presently existing in production.

It is because of these advantages that the organization of mutual-aid teams has been welcome by the vast peasants. Throughout the production movement during last winter and this spring, the mutual-aid team has demonstrated its superior quality. Therefore, we have perfect conditions to bring the peasants' positivism in production into full play, to fully demonstrate the role of the mutual-aid team, and to develop a large production movement centering on the establishment of mutual-aid teams. Presently, the mutual-aid teams have been commonly re-established. Our

immediate problem is to thoroughly implement our class line, strengthen the education dealing with the future development of the mutual-aid teams, reinforce organizational control, consolidate the system of labor management, and perform the principle of mutual-benefit, on the basis of the policy of active leadership, constant adjustment, gradual consolidation and elevation. In the meantime, we should closely combine our work with the education leading to the path of socialism. We should deal with our immediate problems, but we should also deal with our future. If conditions permit, we may try to establish supply and distribution teams, credit loan teams, and handicraft industry teams, all to be run on the basis of mutual aid. Local production, purchase and supply must be encouraged in order to advance the circulation of commodities between urban and rural areas and to solve the problem of supplying necessities.

In order to guide and develop production, we must do well in state farms and state ranches so that they can be the models for the development of agricultural and pastoral production. State farms must test, summarize, and popularize advanced experience, popularize new farm tools, improve the farm tools which we now have, select good seeds, cultivate technical personnel, improve cultivation system and methods, raise the production of unit area, implement the multiple undertakings of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations, and fishery in order to spur the development of agricultural production. State ranches should actively improve the breeding of animals, husbandry, and raise the quality and quantity of animal products in order to advance the development of pastoral production.

On the side of water conservation, we should, at present, take those small-sized water projects operated by the masses themselves as our main force to expand irrigating area. As regards planting, we should take conditions into consideration and expand the planting of industrial crops and high-yield crops such as the rape. Besides, we should extensively organize the masses to raise pigs, chickens, to catch fish, to hunt animals, and to collect herbs in order to increase the sources of fertilizers and the income of the peasant masses.

On the basis of the implementation of the movement

of "three-anti and two-benefit," we should increase the breeding of animals and their products in pastoral areas. In addition to the protection of the pasture, rational husbandry, test organization of pastoral mutual-aid teams, and the active elimination of animal pests, we should do our best to prevent animal diseases, and give more medical services. It is requested that in the year 1960, 6 million head of animals must be quarantined in the entire region. The prevention work of animal diseases must take the form of mass movements through mass line. Through such organizations as the Herdsmen Association, we use all the forces and methods that can be possibly used to make the masses understand how to prevent animal diseases and how to protect animals. Furthermore, we should cultivate specialists and assistants to prevent animal diseases, and to popularize the time-honored indigenous methods to cure and prevent such diseases.

3. The Consolidation of the Dictatorship of People's Democracy.—In his In the Dictatorship of People's Democracy, Chairman Mao said, "To those running dogs of imperialism, namely, the landlord class, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie class, and the reactionary clique of the Kuomintang and its accomplices who represent these classes, we enforce autocracy, dictatorship, and oppress them. We allow them to be obedient persons, but we do not allow them to talk or act at their own will. If they want to talk or act at their own will, we will immediately stop them and punish them. To the people, we practise the democratic system and give them the freedoms of speech, assembly, and association. The right to elect is granted to the people only, not to the reactionary clique. The dictatorship of people's democracy is a combination of these two sides—democracy on the side of the people and dictatorship on the side of the reactionary clique." Therefore, to consolidate the dictatorship of people's democracy is to consolidate the victory of the toiling people, or to consolidate the victory of the proletarian revolution. In the region of Tibet, after we put down the rebellion and enforced the democratic reform, the vast toiling people have been emancipated, and a people's regime has been established. From now on they become the masters of the new society and will never be enslaved and oppressed. The people are excited with joy. However, our class enemy will never give up. They antagonize the victory of the people, the change of their social status, and the new social system. They will sabotage our undertakings by all means. In order to defend the results of our victory and to protect the

interest of the toiling people, we must firmly strike all the enemy's sabotage activities to consolidate the dictatorship of people's democracy.

4. Continual Establishment and Consolidation of the Administrations at Various Levels.--Following the victory of the suppression of the rebellion and the democratic reform, the special administrations in our region, the people's government of Lhasa City, and Hsien people's governments have already been established. In most areas, Hsiang people's governments have been also established. In order to thoroughly accomplish the democratic reform and the operation of "three-anti and two-benefit," to strengthen the dictatorship of people's democracy, and to develop the production of agriculture and animal husbandry, we must gradually establish people's governments in those districts and Hsiang where such governments are yet to be established. When such district and Hsiang people's governments are established we should call people's congresses to summarize and arrange work and production on the one hand, and to encourage the formal establishments of these people's governments and to further conduct the education the dictatorship of people's democracy on the other. In those areas where people's administrations have been established (including the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region), we should strengthen these organizations and improve their work step by step. All the people's administrations at various levels must be well organized, and the division of labour should be carefully arranged.

5. Strengthening Financial and Economic Work.--On the basis of the principles of financial and economic work, i.e., the development of production, construction, the active organization of supply, and the strengthening of market control, we must positively achieve the following major tasks:

(1) Energetically develop the production of agriculture and animal husbandry, actively support the handicraft industry and side-occupations, and give life to the urban and rural economies;

(2) Expand the circulation of rural and urban commodities, do well in production, transportation, and distribution, strengthen the supply of goods and the purchase of special and native products, strengthen the control over commodity prices, industry, and commerce, and

and outlaw speculative activities;

(3) The finance of Tibet is subsidized by the central authorities. Therefore, in our revenue and expenditure, we must observe the principles of increasing production, practising economy, building the country and running all enterprises industriously and thrifitly in order to insure the expenses required by the democratic reform, and the investment demanded by the construction and development of agriculture, animal husbandry, communications and transport, culture, education, and public health. In the meantime, we must strengthen the finance management in enterprises and supervise the use of funds. We should expand financial sources and organize our revenue. We must practise the policy of uniform leadership and management by level in our finance work and intensify the discipline of our finance work. In order to stimulate the development of agricultural production, in 1960 the collection of food grains will be made on the basis of the normal annual output in the previous years. This is a policy which encourages the increase of production but maintain the same tax rate. According to the principles of developing production, spurring the circulation of goods between urban and rural areas, protecting law-abiding commerce and industry with due respect to the interests of the country, the collectivity and the individual, we have enacted simple regulations governing the collection of commercial and industrial taxes, effective January 1960.

(4) In our monetary work, we should unify our system and use the JMP as the standard money. The management of cash should be strengthened, investment and loans should be made rationally, floating funds should be absorbed, and credit loans should be expanded. All necessary loans for agriculture, animal husbandry, and the handicraft industry should be released in order to support the development of production.

(5) In the fields of industry and communications, the present task is to build up some small-sized industries which are urgently needed and can be possibly built up. They should be beneficial to the development of the production of agriculture and animal husbandry, and should meet the purpose of creating favorable conditions for the building of socialism in Tibet. Therefore, in this year the Lhasa Iron Works should be expanded into a farm tool manufacturer. Other steel and iron works, cement

plants, and woolen textile factories should be established. The construction of other small industries may be arranged according to our resources, techniques, and strength. In order to insure the continual smooth development of the democratic reform, we must strengthen our work in communications and transport. We must positively and thoroughly implement the policy of "Ti, P'u, Ch'un" in the construction of communications, closely rely on the leadership of the Party committees and people's governments at various levels, energetically develop mass construction of communications and short-distance transport, conduct technical innovations and technical revolution, and further develop the movement for increasing production and practising economy. On the side of transport, we must strive to fulfill and overfulfill the planned volume of freight and amount of passengers in this year, under the principle of safety and production. All the departments concerned in special (city), Hsien administrations should actively organize mass transportation for short distance and fully utilize people's means of transport to complete the task of carrying supplies. Besides, active efforts should also be made to organize a force to survey rivers for the development of water transportation. The people's water transportation (such as leather boats) should be organized and developed too. In order to bring the potentiality of civil transportation into play so as to solve the problem of transport, automobiles and vehicles pulled by animals are only to be used between the area where the headquarters of the autonomous region is located and the areas where special administrations are located. The traffic between special districts, Hsien, districts, and Hsiang should basically or entirely rely on the vehicles pulled by animals.

(6) We must increase production, practise economy, conduct technical innovations and technical revolution, improve means of production, raise productivity, reduce production cost, and implement the policy of building the country and running all enterprises industriously and thriflily. We should do more work with less expenses, and we should even do some work without expenses. We oppose extravagance and uneconomic practices.

6. Culture, Education, and Public Health.--We must actively develop our undertakings in culture, education, and public health according to plan and on the basis of the existing foundation. On the side of education, we

should continue to develop private schools according to the policy of combining education with production and labour, the policy of using education to serve the working class and politics, and the principle of developing private schools with the establishment of public schools as our secondary consideration. To the teachers, we should strengthen our political leadership and actively raise the level of their political consciousness and professional knowledge. Both the Tibetan and Han teachers should learn from each other. The Han teachers should study the Tibetan language, and the Tibetan teachers should study the Han language, so that the quality of education can be improved. As regards culture and art, we must put politics in command and serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers. Plays and drama should be presented in the interest of the democratic reform, production, and construction. The ideology of all works and the quality of art should be strengthened and raised. In order to meet the development of the situation, offices should be established in special districts to circulate motion pictures, and the organization of projection teams should be properly expanded. In sum, cultural and art works must serve politics and gradually satisfy the people's need in their cultural life. In the field of public health, it should also serve the program of democratic reform, production, and construction. At present, we should energetically develop the sanitary work in rural areas according to plan. We should actively prevent diseases and publicize our sanitary work, in order that the public health in both rural and urban areas will be gradually improved. Our political and ideological work in hospitals must be strengthened in order to implement the policy of running hospitals industriously and thrifitly. We should also improve the physicians' service attitude and establish a concept that everything is for the patients' health. The medical system must be improved, and the quality of medical service raised, in order to eliminate accidents. People's hospitals in special districts, cities, Hsien, factories, and mining areas, should cultivate a certain amount of junior medical workers, and mid-wives without taking them away from production. Public health institutions in various localities should also seriously unite and reform the Tibetan physicians, and bring their positivism into full play so that they can contribute their energy to the people's health.

7. The Cultivation of Cadres.--One of our daily important operations is to cultivate a large number of revolutionary communist cadre, especially nationalities'

communist cadres. During the movement of democratic reform, our cadres received an intensive class education and a practical training in their work. As a result, the level of their class consciousness and political ideology has been greatly elevated. In the meantime, a great number of revolutionary cadres who were toiling people in origin, have emerged from other mass movements. They have close relationship with the masses, and therefore they constitute an important force in Tibet's future revolutionary tasks, production, and construction. They are the Party's and the people's valuable assets. Following the continued victory of the democratic reform and the development of various works, we urgently need a powerful, tested, red, and specialized cadre force. In the cultivation of cadres, priority should be given to the cultivation of nationality cadres. In the region of Tibet, if we do not have a considerable amount of Tibetan cadres who are loyal to the cause of the people, it is impossible to complete Party and government policies and the revolutionary tasks and construction of Tibet. For this reason, we must energetically cultivate nationality communist cadres who are toiling people in origin. To those patriotic progressive people and old intellectuals who originated from the exploiting class, we should gradually transform them into revolutionary cadres through mass movements, practical education and training. This also is one of our important tasks.

In 1960, the task of Tibet is great and honorable, but it is also very heavy and tense. At present, the conditions in Tibet are very favorable. Both subjective and objective conditions are very advantageous to us. Under the correct leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao and under the direct leadership of the Tibet Operational Committee of the Communist Party of China, only if we rely on the masses and work hard, we will successfully accomplish all the works mentioned above. Certainly, on the road to victory, there will be difficulties. Class struggle still is a sharp and complicated task. The imperialists and the reactionaries both at home and abroad are still plotting to sabotage our revolutionary undertakings. Therefore, we must be constantly on the alert. In order to successfully carry out 1960's operational task and to strengthen the development of the revolution and construction in Tibet, we must put politics in command, recognize the supremacy of ideology, summon up revolutionary working energy, and further organize the masses to implement the democratic reform.

on the basis of the great victory in 1959. We must do well in production, prevent relaxation, and struggle for the construction of a new democratic, socialist Tibet with prosperity and happiness.

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